

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 353.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1914.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free) 14d.

IF SOLDIERS' WIVES HAD VOTES!



SOLDIER: "So that's how they insult my wife while I'm away fighting for the rights of small nations! I wish I had won her the protection of the vote before I enlisted!"

(Our leading article describes how the War Office order, placing soldiers' wives and other relatives under police supervision, has been re-issued with a Home Office memorandum. The "Daily Citizen" comments on the fact that "a scheme for the supervision of our soldiers' wives should have emanated from the Criminal Department of the Home Office.")

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

3, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C. Telephone, Regent 5150
Colours: Purple, White and Orange

After we go to Press our meeting will have been held at the Essex Hall, an account of which will be given in next week's VOTES FOR WOMEN.

U.S. AT CARDIFF

Following upon the court-martial at Cardiff of five women belonging to the most helpless class in the nation, on which we commented in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, Mrs. Masters, Miss Putnam, Miss Ennis, Miss Fox, and Miss Somers paid a week-end visit to that borough, and did some splendid propagandist work in selling the paper there. They disposed of several dozens of copies, and rendered a real service to the cause for which this paper exists. Further details of the Cardiff campaign will be found on the opposite page.

THE CHRISTMAS SALE

The Christmas Sale, in spite of really bad weather, was a brilliant success. The rooms were crowded from the opening at 3 o'clock until the doors closed at 11 p.m.; and when buying seemed for the first time to show signs of slackening, somewhere about ten o'clock, Mr. H. W. Nevinston mounted a chair and conducted a Dutch auction with great success. Miss Cissie Loftus, having declared the sale open soon after the public was admitted, cried off making a speech, and did one of her supreme imitations of Mrs. Patrick Campbell in "Pygmalion," which put everyone in a delightful humour to start with. Some interesting entertainments were given by those true friends, the Actresses' Franchise League, and the whole thing went with a fine swing. It is impossible to name all those who rendered signal service to the cause by giving their valuable services, both before and during the Sale. We can only

say that, as usual, they behaved like true suffragists.

Many kind friends who contributed goods at the last moment failed to give their addresses, and have, we fear, not received acknowledgment of their generosity. Among those to whom thanks are due, for gifts or for donations in money, are Miss Hare, Miss Hornabrook, Mrs. Hone, Lady Lockyer, and Miss Sloan.

GROSS AMOUNT REALISED. £ s. d.	
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The totals of the sums taken at the book stall (Miss Craies and Mrs. Cancellor), and at the cake stall (Miss Gertrude Peppercorn) have not been received, and will be announced in next week's paper.

SALE IN THE U.S. OFFICES

December 15 and 16; 11 a.m. to 8 p.m.

As a good many charming things are still left unsold, and a large number of friends were prevented from attending last Friday's Christmas Sale, it has been decided to hold a special

sale of these articles, which include books, jam, woollen and fancy articles, toys, children's clothes, &c., in the U.S. Offices, 3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C., next Tuesday and Wednesday, from 11 a.m. till 8 p.m. Admission free.

Bertha Brewster, Hon. Sec. Secretary.

SPECIAL CHRISTMAS ISSUE

Papersellers Wanted Next Week

Paper sellers are particularly asked to come forward and volunteer to sell the paper next week. Thursday, Friday and Saturday, December 17, 18, and 19, will be the days on which a special effort might be made to push that number of the paper, which will be larger than usual, and will contain among other features, a "Greeting from the Front," by the U.S. Hon. Treasurer, Mr. H. J. Gillespie; stories by H. W. Nevinston and G. Colmore; a war poem specially written for our paper by Gerald Gould; an article on "The Cost of Living in War Time," by Frances Wood, and other interesting matter. The same price as usual will be charged, and the opportunity should be taken to obtain new annual subscribers as well as purchasers for that issue.

BOLTON U.S.

A well-attended meeting of members and friends was held in the Borough Hall, Corporation Street, on Monday last. Mr. Darbyshire occupied the chair, and the speaker was Mrs. Forrester, B.A., of Manchester, who gave a very able address on "Patriotism." She pointed out the justification for the existence of active suffrage propaganda, in the work that suffragists were doing for, and in the interests of women whose men folk were at the front. A hearty vote of thanks was passed by Mrs. Gellard, seconded by Mrs. John Almond.

CORRESPONDENCE

"TEN SHILLINGS A WEEK"

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—You ask if I "would think it fair to pay two men the wages of one?"

Under exceptional circumstances, such as the present, when in many countries money is scarce and workers plentiful, I would think it more just and reasonable to pay two persons sufficient to keep them alive until such time as they were both able to earn as usual, rather than to pay one person sufficient to live upon in comfort, and allow another to suffer and perhaps die altogether. It is claimed that whole families have existed for a length of time on £1 per week. That being the case, one person cannot be said to "starve" on half that amount.—

Yours, &c., M. JENSEN.

8, Annasvej, Charlottenlund, Denmark.

[We hold to our original opinion.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

THE LAMBETH EGG

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—A copy of your journal has been sent to me, and my attention drawn to the article headed "Children in the Fighting Line." It has been written under a complete misapprehension of the facts, and in justice to my Board, and also for the relief of mind of those who must be labouring under the impression that the Poor Law children are treated with hardship, I append the facts, which I trust you will insert. The eggs would have been provided as usual but for the abnormal price at the time (I am informed that the present price of eggs is 2½d. each, and at Christmas will be 3d. each). Considering that the working classes, and, indeed, the middle classes as well, are unable to afford new-laid eggs for their children (and we do not care to give any others), the Board did not feel justified in taking from the ratepayers what, in so many cases, they cannot afford for themselves. The actual menu for the children on Christmas Day is as follows:—

Breakfast: coffee, bread and butter, eggs or sausage. Dinner: roast beef, baked potatoes, Christmas pudding (ad. lib.), apple, orange, and bon-bon. Tea: bread and butter and cake, and after an entertainment in the evening, they are given sweets and biscuits.

As you will see, the usual extras associated with Christmas, and which are chiefly appreciated by the children, will still be provided, and something at a suitable cost in place of an egg for their breakfast. (The public, however, have now generously subscribed the amount for the eggs, so they will get them after all.) In addition we are trying to obtain a sixpence for each child. This cannot be taken out of the rates, and has to be provided by the Guardians and other friends. The difficulty in collecting the amount this year will be probably greater than ever, and the many who have expressed sympathy with the children cannot do better than assist in this direction. A varied series of entertainments is provided during the Christmas holidays, and I could wish every working-class child had so bright and happy a time.

I am personally glad, however, that so comparatively small a matter has elicited so great a sympathy. The real danger is that for the greater part of the children's existence the general public seems to be unaware of the immense importance of the care and welfare of the children. During seventeen years' experience as a Guardian, I have never received a single letter of enquiry as to the treatment and future of the children under our charge, but the question of eggs versus sausage has, apparently, perturbed the whole public.—Yours, &c.,

FRANK BRIANT.

(Chairman, Lambeth Board of Guardians.)

[We are glad to learn that the patriotism of the Lambeth children is not going to be stimulated by any loss of diet, and would draw our correspondent's attention to the fact that our criticism was based on the original resolution passed by the Guardians, which was admitted by them at their later meeting to have been unfortunately worded.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]



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Those members of the public who do not feel disposed to go to the expense of a Fur Coat will find our Fur Substitute Coats particularly interesting. They are made from material so closely resembling Broadtail as to be scarcely distinguishable from the actual fur. These Coats are perfect as regards style and at the same time very warm and light in weight.

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

What VOTES FOR WOMEN says to-day, the daily Press says to-morrow—to-morrow being, in this case, last Friday, when the *Daily Mail* roundly denounced the War Office order placing soldiers' wives under police supervision, which was condemned by us in these columns some three weeks ago on its appearance in its original form.

The New Edition of the Insult

The obnoxious order has now been re-issued with a fresh memorandum from the Home Office, containing the dual implication—(1) That the women now have more money to spend than they ever had before; and (2) That they spend it in drink. Only a rankly Anti-Suffragist Government department could seriously draw up such a memorandum; for if it is true that the separation allowance spells riotous living to the working class wife, then she must have been kept in a state of penury by her husband before the war that any just Government would be glad to remove, not eager to restore. And secondly, when we compare drunkenness generally among women with that among men, as revealed in the Metropolitan Police Commissioner's Report, just issued, for the year 1913, we can only designate as canting hypocrisy this sudden concern on the part of the authorities lest some women should adopt the habits of the average man, and spend too large a proportion of their wages in the public-house.

Plain Statistics

Here are the figures in question, showing the number of men and women convicted of drunkenness by Metropolitan magistrates during the year 1913:—

Drunkenness (simple): Men—14,200. Women—6,051. Drunkenness (with aggravations): Men—32,660. Women—10,439.

We really trust that these statistics will let daylight into the official mind and put a stop to this petty and one-sided persecution of women; for it is quite time the Government devised some better method of brightening up recruiting! There is a gleam of hope in the statement of the Home Secretary, as quoted by Mr. R. Wallace, K.C., at a meeting of the London Licensing Authority last week, to the effect that a general closing order up to 10 a.m. is being contemplated in place of the present agreement by which public-houses are closed only to women up to 11.30 a.m. This would at least have the merit of placing the sexes on an equal footing. And Sir Edward Henry's announcement that he does not intend to supply police stations in London with the women's names and addresses sent to him by the War Office is also a sign of grace indicative of the public indignation that has been roused. But it does not remove, even in London, the insult that rests upon the women.

The Cardiff Outrage

We very much regret that so splendid a

reformer as Dr. Helen Wilson should, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, fail to see how the military order at Cardiff "can lead to regulation of vice." It seems to us that anything which places prostitutes in the hands of the police, allowing the police to be sole arbiters as to who is or is not one of the women in question, is a decided step towards the revival in spirit, at all events, of the Contagious Diseases Acts. We hope very much that Dr. Helen Wilson, whose opinion must necessarily carry great weight in this connection, may prove to be right. But we cannot forget that five of the most helpless women in the kingdom, who, when convenient to those in authority, are encouraged to ply the trade to which our abominable social conditions have driven them, are now suffering sixty-two days "detention," and that five more, according to the *Daily Chronicle*, were court-martialled last Monday, sentence being deferred. What does "detention" mean? What guarantee have we that the military rulers of Cardiff are not subjecting these women to compulsory medical treatment?

The U.S. in Cardiff

The friendliness with which a band of United Suffragists' paper sellers were received in Cardiff last Saturday, and the ready sale they found for VOTES FOR WOMEN when they displayed their poster, "Cardiff Casts the First Stone," is another proof that officialism and not public opinion is what women and suffragists have to fight, and always will have to fight. Two organizers have been sent down to Cardiff from the U.S., and are working up a public meeting of protest to be held there next week, at which it is hoped that Mr. George Lansbury and Miss Evelyn Sharp will speak, among others. Voluntary workers willing to join in the campaign, and others ready to contribute to the expenses of this attempt to defend the most defenceless section of our women, are asked to communicate with the U.S. Hon. Secretary at 3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

Cost of the War

M. Yves Guyot has been calculating the probable cost of the war, and estimates it, supposing it to last six months, at 4,265 millions of pounds sterling. But the war is already costing more than that; for the price that is being paid in flesh and blood, apart from the terrible casualties in the fighting line, is incalculable. The special representative of the American *Christian Herald* describes Belgium as "one huge burying ground," and Mr. Herbert Hoover, Chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, says that in Brussels alone one-third of the total population are in receipt of relief, including 31,000 babies. And in this country, the indirect results work out similarly. At an inquest on a starved baby at Southwark, last Friday, it appeared that the father had been put on half-time owing to the war, and the two parents and six children had been trying to live on 12s. 6d. a week, out of which they paid 6s. 6d. in rent!

Women Doctors and the War

Suffragist women doctors are fully playing their part in repairing the ravages caused by the nations at war. We give an account by our special correspondent on page 85, of the hospital

of the Women's Hospital Corps at Wimereux, which has been recognised by the War Office. Last week, too, the first hospital unit of the Scottish Federation of the N.U.W.S.S. set out for France, where they are to establish themselves in the Abbaye de Royaumont, near Chantilly. There are six women doctors with the unit, including Dr. Elsie Inglis as head surgeon, and Dr. Agnes Savill as X-ray worker. A second unit leaves next week for Serbia; and the third is destined for Belgium, but is at present working at Calais. We must not forget, however, that women have no part or lot in war!

Items of Interest

The good wishes of all readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will go with Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who sails from Liverpool to-morrow (Saturday) for New York, where he will join with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in her campaign for establishing an international movement among women for the purpose of stopping wars in the future.

"We would rather stick to Magna Carta," says the *Nation*, with reference to the new Defence of the Realm Act. Suffragists have been saying that for forty-five years. If they had been listened to, the Government would not have had a precedent to-day for setting aside its provisions where men are concerned.

The same paper says, in a leading article: "We stand as a nation more certainly at this moment than at any other for the ideal of Government by consent." As suffragists, we can only quote the *Herald's* favourite expression—"Ho, go hon!"

The latest Blue Book on public education tells us that there are 89 schools in England and Wales for blind or deaf children, accommodating 6,782 children; and 265 schools for defective and epileptic children, with accommodation for 20,233 scholars. It looks as if it were about time for the hand that rocks the cradle to help to rule the world.

At the Ulster Winter Assizes at Belfast on Monday, a *nolle prosequi* was entered in the cases of Miss Dorothy Evans and the two other militant Suffragists charged with her.

The Workers' National Committee have passed a strong resolution condemning the circular issued by the War Office and Home Office for the supervision of soldiers' wives, and also protesting against the refusal of these two departments to receive a deputation on the subject from the Committee, which would have included women like Miss Susan Lawrence and Miss Mary Macarthur.

The Government have recognised the work of the Women's Emergency Corps by appointing it the agency to co-operate with the Local Government Board in bringing to England 29,000 Belgian refugees from Holland.

Councillor Crawford, of Edinburgh, a member of the executive committee of the Northern Men's Federation and one of the Scottish Bailies who came to London to interview Mr. Asquith, has just enlisted for the period of the war in Sir George McCrae's new service corps.

A special feature of next week's Special Christmas issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN will be a Greeting from the Front, from Mr. H. J. Gillespie, R.F.A., the U. S. Hon. Treasurer, now fighting in France.

The Women's Enfranchisement Association of the Union of South Africa proposed some weeks ago that December 31 should be set apart by the women of the Dominions overseas for prayer that "in the peace which will follow this war, the woman's voice may be heard." The proposal was at once forwarded to all members of the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union by the hon. secretary, Miss Harriet Newcomb.

A special service for use in time of war has been compiled for the Church League for Women's Suffrage by Dr. Scott Holland, and the first of a series of monthly services takes place on Thursday in this week at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, W.C., at 3 p.m.

Vol. VII. of VOTES FOR WOMEN (price 10s. 6d.) is now ready, and is the best Christmas present—except a complete set of the volumes I-VII.—that can be sent to any friend.

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(For particulars see opposite page.)

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EAST LONDON FEDERATION of the SUFFRAGETTES

A PUBLIC MEETING

AT

Caxton Hall, Westminster,

ON

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, at EIGHT p.m.

SPEAKERS:

Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST.
Mrs. DRAKE (Custom House).
Mrs. WALKER (Poplar).
Mrs. PAYNE (Bow).
Mrs. MANSELL - MOULLIN.

Tickets may be obtained from the E.L.F.S., at 321, Roman Road, Bow, E.; the United Suffragists, 3, Adam Street, Strand; the International Suffrage Shop, 11, Adam Street, Strand; the Women's Freedom League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, Strand; and at the door.

Reserved and Numbered Seats, 2s.; Reserved Seats, 1s. & 6d.

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ALL WOMEN

Must Read

THE CHRISTMAS "HERALD"

Edited by GEORGE LANSBURY.

DECEMBER 19th.

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THE EDITOR

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1914.

"IF YOU WANT TO KNOW THE TRUTH ASK A P'LICEMAN!"

What we expected and feared has happened. The order hatched by the War Office and Home Office in unholy alliance has been reissued, and its action reorganised. The wives and mothers of all our soldiers in the field are now placed under special police supervision, and if their behaviour does not conform with a policeman's ideal, they are to be reduced to starvation. When the question of this atrocious circular was raised in the House of Commons, Mr. Harold Baker, on behalf of the Government, stated that it had been temporarily withdrawn for modification of wording. Many honest and trustful people believed that this would be an end of it; that the Government was only saving its face in describing the withdrawal as temporary, and would not again venture upon the insolence of thus undermining such rights and liberties as English women possess. Unhappily, we suffragists knew our Government better. We knew that the authorities at the Home Office, through whom the circular was issued, belong to the class of people whose tender mercies are cruel. We knew that the circular would reappear. Hardly had the sittings of Parliament been suspended—hardly had the Government escaped the danger of inconvenient questions—when it reappeared. It was issued again last week.

On Thursday of last week the Army Paymasters, in the Home Commands, received instructions to forward at once to the chief constables of counties and towns particulars as to all the dependants of soldiers receiving allotments and separation allowances in their districts. The information is to take the form of a card index, including the names of all the wives and other dependants, and stating the number of children and the amount of the allowance. The local police are thus supplied with every facility for supervision and espionage. They can pry at leisure into the circumstances and behaviour of every woman who had depended upon the wages of a soldier fighting at the front, or in training to fight, and who is receiving a separation allowance, not as "relief," but as part of the pay solemnly guaranteed to the soldier and to her by the State. By the help of the card index, the police can fabricate a record of every such woman's conduct and keep it for future reference. A dossier is the technical word for such a record—a foreign word—for hitherto in England the system of police supervision has been limited and rarely followed. It has been limited to criminals, ticket-of-leave men, and a few suspected characters. But now all women whose crime it is that their husbands or supporters are fighting or ready to fight

for their country, are liable to a system regarded as suitable only for criminals. It is calculated that in the United Kingdom there are about 750,000 such women. If they had the vote, what Government would dare to extend to them the treatment of criminals? When a *Daily Mail* representative asked for information at Whitehall, he was told that the department in question "was far too busy to reply to any inquiries about the matter." No Government would be too busy if 750,000 votes depended on the answer.

It will be remembered that the title of the circular ran: "Cessation of Allowances or Pay to the Unworthy." In his latest covering letter issued with the circular, last Friday, Mr. McKenna repeats that phrase, "the unworthy." He clings to the notion that pay is charity, and wages are relief. He is incapable of understanding the distinction between a pledge to a soldier that he and his dependants shall receive so much pay, and the methods of the Charity Organisation Society, which gives "relief" only to "deserving cases." That is why he calls upon the police to serve as investigators and spies into the behaviour of soldiers' wives and mothers. He says that he and the Army Council "are both anxious that the police should endeavour by all means in their power to prevent such a course of conduct on the part of women as would be likely to lead to the loss of the allowance." That is his bleating way of putting it. In plain English he means: "Look here, you women, if the police don't like your conduct—if a policeman reports you are not a deserving case—I'll stop your allowance, and you must go on the streets, or go to prison, or starve!"

Mr. McKenna's letter proceeds to give his reasons for suspecting soldiers' wives and mothers of drunkenness, debauchery, and other vices. He says that many of them now have larger sums than they have previously enjoyed. (What a mercy the working classes are poor! What hideous lives they would lead if they were paid like Cabinet Ministers!) "This has happened," he goes on, "at a time when these women are deprived of the company and guidance of their husbands, and are subject sometimes to extreme anxiety, and at other times to natural feelings of pride and exaltation." After describing the consequent temptations of "these women," Mr. McKenna adds the following supreme sentence:

In such cases it is believed that discreet and tactful action on the part of the police may be of real assistance in inducing them to refrain from drinking and to resume their normal mode of life.

How sustaining for a woman to feel that when she is deprived of her husband's "company and guidance," she has the support of a policeman to fall back upon! How consoling for a soldier, when risking his life for our country in the trenches, to reflect that his wife, in his absence, has her behaviour supervised by a policeman's "discreet and tactful action!" What an inducement to every honourable man who has a wife or mother to join the army when his dearest interests are thus protected! We do not wish to bring any accusation against the police as a whole, but we must say that if all policemen were as holy and righteous as the Archbishop of Canterbury, still they could not be entrusted with so abominable a power of espionage, interference, blackmail, and worse over the lives of any human beings, least of all over women in the position of our soldiers' wives. The *Daily Mail* now joins us in demanding the entire withdrawal of this iniquitous police order. "The nation will not stand it," cried its leading article last Saturday. We hope and pray the nation will not. For if it does, the very elements of our liberties are destroyed.

ANOTHER MILESTONE!

Women Doctors Recognised by the War Office

Some forty years ago, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., fought a great fight and opened the medical profession to women in this country. To-day, in a perfectly ordered hospital for wounded soldiers, a couple of miles from the British hospital base at Boulogne, her daughter, Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson (a Vice-President of the United Suffragists), with a competent band of colleagues, has won the recognition of the War Office for the work of women doctors in war time. It is a real achievement; for, until now, Great Britain has alone, among the Allies, refused the help of women surgeons. This national reproach has now been removed; and the women doctors' hospital of seventy beds at Wimereux works entirely with the R.A.M.C. at Boulogne, receives only British wounded, draws army rations, and is, in fact, a voluntary hospital recognised by the War Office.

Record of the Women's Hospital Corps

It will be remembered that the Women's Hospital Corps went to Paris at the beginning of the war under the auspices of the French Red Cross, and established a hospital there in the Hotel Claridge. Here they took a certain number of British cases; and Dr. Anderson tells an amusing story of one of the first of these, a young English officer to whom she was talking in the sheds before removing him in the ambulance. She had noticed his being rather absent-minded; then, his eyes fixed upon her "Votes for Women" badge, he suddenly broke in upon her solicitous apprehensions lest he should suffer from the transit over cobbled streets, with an abrupt "Well, you're a suffragist anyhow—that's one comfort!"

When the lines of communication were altered, and fewer casualties found their way to Paris, the Corps asked permission of the Union des Femmes de France—the Red Cross society with whom they were working—to remove part of their staff to the coast. This was readily granted, and, Dr. Flora Murray remaining in charge of the Paris hospital, Dr. Garrett Anderson went to Wimereux with Dr. Gazdan, Dr. Hazel Cuthbert, and Dr. Blandy, and a sufficient staff of nurses and orderlies. At Wimereux they found the R.A.M.C. extremely friendly, extremely responsive to their offer of help, and in a few days the charming little Château Mauricien was filled with wounded men, and the Women's Hospital Corps (Boulogne base) was in full swing. Since then the Paris hospital has filled up again with French wounded, so both staffs have their hands full.

Making a Hospital into a Home

What strikes one most, I think, on entering what would in ordinary summer holiday times be a particularly pretty French seaside house, is that there is nothing institutional about this women doctors' hospital. It increases one's hope of what women will do in the future with this official ridden world, to see what women have done at Wimereux to turn a prim little French château into a military hospital, and a military hospital into a comfortable home. One gets this impression not only from seeing the convalescents sitting in groups about the fire, roasting chestnuts, maybe, or reading a novel, or writing home, or playing cards and smoking the inevitable Woodbine, while a gramophone tells every step of the long, long way to Tipperary. It is the atmosphere of comradeship about the house that makes it so attractive, I think. Not in a single case have the men seemed even surprised at being doctored by women. "Give women the vote!" echoed one of them in response to a suggestion from a

visitor. "If I had the chance I'd give 'em ten votes apiece!"

A Nerve-Racking War

The majority of the men brought in are suffering badly from the awful strain they have gone through, as well as from every kind of injury. It is here that the women doctors have shown themselves especially curative, and I should not be surprised if this had not been a powerful adjunct in bringing about their recognition by the authorities, who know only too well how large a part nerves play in this most terrible of modern wars. Four non-commissioned officers, whom I visited on the first night of their arrival, seemed almost too dazed and stunned to take in their surroundings, though they had been put in the little ward known from its decoration as the "Wedgwood," and the jolly English fire in the grate and the soft sea air coming in at the open French windows must have contrasted at least pleasantly with the life they had known recently in the trenches. They were all "sicks," not "woundeds," suffering from acute frostbite or rheumatism. (It is for sufferers like these, by the way, that water beds are so badly needed, which may be sent to Dr. Woodcock, at 27, Nottingham Place, W., for transport.)

I went in again, the following morning, and found them already responding to the cheery feeling of the place. One of them, an Irishman, spoke for all of them when he assured me, "And it's grand I'm feeling the day!" It was this man who, he being Irish and I sympathetic, led me to believe he had been in the trenches for six weeks without a single day off. To another who approached him in the colder light of pure reason, he made the six weeks three; but who would grudge him the extra bit of local colour? Three weeks in rain-sodden trenches, sometimes frozen so that one's great coat stood up "by itself," might well be doubled in the telling for the sake of getting an impression of their agony into the civilian's mind.

Not that the men exaggerate their sufferings. One shattered Tommy—shattered in body, not in spirit—who had seventeen wounds, two of them pretty bad fractures, was asked by the doctor what message he would like sent to his

wife, and said hastily: "Don't tell her anything about my wounds. That'd only worry her. Tell her I've found a nice home, and when I find a nice home I stick to it!" I should like to know if he has stuck to it—or whether he was putting up his last fight when he said this so bravely.

I wish I had space to tell more of this seaside hospital and its occupants—of the Chalet Paul et Virginie (a mere outhouse really), in which the medical staff sleep on mattresses laid on the bare boards; of the beautiful little mortuary chapel made in a loose box in the stable; of the operating theatre where Dr. Garrett Anderson fights her hardest against the common enemy of us all and generally wins. "If this was an ordinary military hospital," said one man, showing me his bandaged hand, the palm of which had been blown out by shrapnel, "they'd have had my hand off the first day I come in!" I do not know if his estimate of the ordinary military hospital is a correct one; I do not know if his hand has been saved after all; but I do know that his confidence in the people who had him in charge was complete, and that to me was the thing that counted.

Something that Will Not End

There are few alleviating aspects of the present tragic situation. Even the perfected hospital arrangements of the British forces at Boulogne, whereby human wrecks are restored to their fighting value at the shortest possible notice, have their ironic aspect. But in the Wimereux hospital, where women doctors are on a level with men doctors, and their patients recognise it as a matter of course, there is a germ of something else, something that will not end, perhaps, when the war ends. For a more serious wound is being healed there, probably, than shrapnel wounds—an unnatural strife that has been allowed to poison our national life too long. If some of the Tommies who are so ready now to "give 'em ten votes if they had the chance," will clamour for that chance when they get back to England again, the war will not have been wholly fought in vain.

E. S.

"MRS. MARTIN'S MAN"

It would be easy to criticise this first novel of Mr. St. John Ervine's by objecting that it is really a short story made into a long one. So it is. But so are Meredith's "Amazing Marriage," and Maupassant's "Pierre et Jean," and a few other masterpieces of fiction that we would not be without for anything. People who want a novel full of incident, with a crowded canvas and the chronicle of a lifetime compressed within its limits, should go to Mr. Arnold Bennett and other writers who can give them all that. But in "Mrs. Martin's Man" they will find the delicacy of touch, the kindly wit, and the human understanding that they have learnt to expect from the author of "Jane Clegg." And what is more important, they will find the right point of view about women. Mrs. Martin is no feminist of the conscious kind; that is where her creator shows his art. She is just an ordinary, workaday, Irish woman of the small tradesman class. She makes a big mistake when she marries James Martin; yet, when he returns to her after a desertion of many years, having developed into the most unprepossessing creature imaginable, this is how she sums up the situation:—

"I thought when I got his letter mebbe I might care, but when I saw him come into the house, lookin' like he was, an' I minded everything, I just
* "Mrs. Martin's Man," By St. John G. Ervine. (Maunsell and Co. Price 6s.)

didn't bother my head about him. I'm glad enough to have him back, an' for him to be sittin' in the dusk, mebbe, smokin' his pipe an' not talkin, an' me sittin' with him. You'll think that's quare, an' me not carin' for him no more, but it's the way I feel."

From one point of view, perhaps, it is "quare." But the reader who augurs from this pronouncement that Mrs. Martin belongs to the "doormat" type of woman receives a shock when she develops later into the master of the situation, and entirely dominates it with the happiest results. The truth is that Mr. Ervine has drawn in her a very human heroine, and evolves his theory of women from Mrs. Martin, and not Mrs. Martin from his theory of women. We wish all novelists who are also suffragists would make as great a success of reconciling their principles with their art. And finally, let it not be supposed that Mrs. Martin and her man are the only characters in the book, for it contains as delightful a collection of Irish people as we ever remember meeting in any book.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Peter Pope." By Lorimer Royston. (London: Digby Long and Co. Price 6s.)
"Nursery Rhymes for Fighting Times." By Elphinstone Thorpe. (London: Everett. Price 1s. net.)
"How Germany Crushed France." By Adolf Sommerfeld. (London: Everett. Price 1s. net.)

HUSH-MONEY

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Much outcry has been raised in the past few weeks against our professional players of football. The money paid to these expert athletes has the direct effect, we are told, of keeping back recruits, and thus the professional has become a danger to the country. The charge may or may not be true, but the Press is running it, and for that reason it has become prominent, everyone is thinking about it.

But, meanwhile, there is another charge equally, nay, far more true, against another body of professionals, which the Press does not "run"—does all it can, in fact, to minimise or evade, or make as though it did not exist. That charge needs voicing; and a paper devoted to the principle of the suffrage and of genuine popular government seems to me the right one to voice it.

Professional Players at £400 a Year

We have in our midst a body of supposed professionals, experts who are paid £400 a year to maintain and keep alive the principle of democratic government. And they are to-day devoting their energies to killing it. They are paid to be the critics of government; but, unfortunately, their payment comes, not directly from the hands of those who have sent them from various constituencies to watch, question, criticise, and control, but has been voted into their own pockets by themselves, and reaches them through the hands of the Government, whose orders of come and go they now meekly obey.

The other day the Government was asked the question whether, under present circumstances, this payment ought not to cease. Mr. Asquith replied that it was to continue, and it continues at the will of the Government; for if the Government were to utter an adverse commentary on that continued payment for work not done, the conscience of the country would respond and the payment would have to cease. The 670 gentlemen would be forced to vote out of their pockets the money which they do not earn. But at Mr. Asquith's nod of approval they retain it, and doing his and the Government's bidding—consenting that their comings in and their goings out shall be ruled entirely by the convenience of our Bureaucracy—remain in pocket to the tune of £400 a year.

In a word they accept Hush-money.

In the Name of Patriotism

And the Press applauds; the Government is not to be criticised—or only in the department of its Press-censorship. And having thus with it the Press and its 670 Parliamentary stipendiaries, the Government continues to rule and to apply its emergency measures by anti-democratic methods. And it is all done before our eyes in the name of patriotism. We read, now-a-days, in our war news, of troops having to cross the open—what is called the "danger-zone"—and of the skill, dash, and daring with which, as they gain experience, they manage to do it. We see just the same thing going on at home. Our Government has now and again to cross the "danger-zone," to run the gauntlet, that is to say, of a democratic institution called Parliament. The danger will be greatly decreased if, while it does so, the shells dropped on it do not explode, or if the sharpshooters set to dispute its passage fire only into the air.

And thus it is that the thing happens. Parliament is summoned: at the call of duty

the representatives of Democracy draw a deep breath, they hold it tight while the Government talks to them of all that it has done; one or two, short of breath, let go a tell-tale gasp or two, but these do no execution, for the rest of the 670, sitting with puffed cheeks and congested lungs, shake solemn heads at them, bidding them in the name of King and country to keep silence. And when breath can be held no more, the Government signals them out, and they rush to the recruiting platform and expend their bottled-up energies in ways patriotic and unpaid for. But what they do outside, though commendable enough in its way, has not earned them their £400 a year. That virtuous activity in a new sphere does but cover a vicious inactivity as regards the job they are specially paid to perform. All this shutting down of Parliament while our Bureaucracy puts in force the greatly increased powers which have suddenly been bestowed on it, is a sheer denial and desertion of the principle of Democratic Government. Having put an extra big stick into the hands of our rulers the paid representatives of the people turn their backs and say, "Use it as you like; we will criticise your use of it as little as possible." In response the Government tells them that their £400 a year shall be safe. They accept Hush-money.

Carte Blanche to Ill-treat Women

And, meanwhile, for lack of Parliamentary criticism and insistence on elementary principles of fair-dealing and justice, our Government is doing infamous things to women—treating as "alien enemies" English-born wives of foreigners, inflicting heavy fines on them for not registering, for trespassing outside the five-mile limit, for living in their own homes within areas "prohibited to foreigners," and fining those, too, who, without giving notice of the "alien enemy," have dared to harbour them! Women are to be compulsorily excluded from public houses because they spend more than is good of their wages in drink; but there is no suggestion meanwhile of compulsory exclusion for men who do the same with theirs. Women of loose character are not to go out of doors between seven in the evening and eight in the morning; but men of loose character will still be out and about—free; alcohol will still be priming them to their accustomed "needs." And for lack of the usual supply to their undiminished demand, they will turn elsewhere; and women not of loose character will pay the price.

I suppose there will be, in some quarters, a sentimental outcry at any suggestion that men who are serving their country by enlistment may still remain "loose characters." But, unfortunately for that line of argument, we hear that our magistrates are letting off loose characters who come before them charged with offences against women—on condition that they enlist, thus seeing to it that our army, even in war time, gets its accustomed supply. And just as in strikes, when men cannot afford to pay for their sexual requirements, decent girls become the substitute, so in Cardiff and elsewhere will the same result follow this latest moral enactment of our men-governors.

£400 to Keep Quiet

To all these things, and others not to be named here, our M.P.'s are, as far as possible, turning their backs and shutting their eyes. And for doing so they are still receiving £400 a year at the Government's hands in Hush-money.—Yours, &c.,

Laurence Housman.

WHAT WOMEN ARE DOING

(From our Special Correspondent)

In the neutral countries we receive more tidings from abroad than is the case with the belligerent nations; so we can give you, perhaps, information about the doings of the women everywhere in these tragic times. Political power being denied them,

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they are obliged to concentrate efforts and energy on relief work, trying to heal in detail the wounds that are being inflicted wholesale by the armies of the countries at war, in whose government women have no say.

Women's National Councils

The largest organised bodies of women are the National Councils, which exist in twenty-six countries; therefore, it is not to be wondered at that these Councils have come to the fore now more than they did in peaceful times. The N.C. of Women in Denmark appealed in very sensible and moving terms to the employers not to dismiss the women in their service. The Queens of Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands have called the N.C.'s to their aid in undertaking all sorts of relief work; and here in Holland, where we have a reigning Queen, this has given more prominence to the National Council of Women than before.

When on August 10 Queen Wilhelmina instituted the Royal National Relief Committee, Mrs. van Biema-Heymans, the President of the Dutch N.C.W., was there, and together with the representatives of the National Unemployment Council, the United Charities Committee, the Horticultural Council, the Department of Agriculture, and the Industrial Association, received from H.M. the request to make every effort to help the nation through the present crisis. Most public-spirited Dutch women have now taken part in the work of Local Relief Committees, and Mrs. van Biema-Heymans was not slow to do so in her city, The Hague, the royal residence. She obtained the free use of a building serving in better times as a magazine of pictures, situated opposite the royal Palace, and there her Committee established their store of articles of dress given by philanthropists to be distributed to needy families. In this sort of clothes-market she received a visit from Queen Wilhelmina, who gave great encouragement to the Dutch women in their works of charity.

Going to the Root of the Matter

The work is also prosecuted on a larger scale, and all the associations of women forming together the National Council have been asked to give statistics as exact as possible as to the supply and demand of clothes and food among the people thrown out of employment by the war.

Then the Belgian migration came and more than doubled the demands on the resources of our nation and on the care of our women. I hope to give you more details of that in another letter. Let us always uphold the feeling of solidarity among the women of the world, even in time of war.

Martina G. Kramers.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Offence Against a Girl

The *Birmingham Weekly Post* (December 5) reports case of an engineer, aged 29, charged at the Birmingham Assizes before Mr. Justice Avory with an offence against a girl under the age of 16.

Sentence: Nine months' hard labour.

Assault on a Woman

The *Kent Messenger and Maidstone Telegraph* (November 27) reports case of a man summoned at Dartford Police Court (before Alderman C. H. Watson, Alderman Laurence Mitchell, Messrs. C. Salmon, A. M. Fleet, C. Harston, and A. J. Penney) by a woman for assaulting her on the arm and wrist, calling her a foreigner, and attempting to choke her.

Sentence: Fined 10s. and costs.

Cruelty to a Horse

The *Pioneer* (September 25) reports case of a coachman charged before Mr. Symmons at Woolwich Police Court with cruelty to a horse by working it when it was lame. It had chronic disease of the near hind fetlock joint and a bad sprain of another joint, and had been unfit for work for many weeks. Owner was also summoned.

Sentence: Fined £1 or 14 days. (Owner fined £5 or a month).

HEAVY SENTENCES

Forgery

The same paper reports case of a clerk, aged 22, charged at the same Assizes before the same Judge with forging and uttering a cheque for the sum of £19 10s.

Sentence: Three years' penal servitude.

Theft of Threepence

The *Morning Advertiser* (November 26) reports case of a man charged before Mr. Leicester with robbing a gas meter to the extent of 3d. His defence, that his children were starving, was stated to be untrue. He had been previously charged.

Sentence: One month's hard labour.

Poverty

The *Derbyshire Times* (November 28) reports case of a man of no fixed abode, charged before Mr. Theo. Pearson at Chesterfield with sleeping out and having no visible means of subsistence.

Sentence: Fourteen days' imprisonment.

THE FATHER'S RIGHTS

No one can quarrel with the sentence of three months' hard labour passed by Mr. Garrett at Marylebone Police Court upon a postman's wife for excessive cruelty to her eight-year-old boy. (See *Morning Advertiser*, November 15.) Our only criticism would be directed towards its leniency as compared with the sentences so frequently passed upon those who injure property. But we do protest most emphatically against the magistrate's leniency to the woman's husband, who was only bound over to come up for judgment if called upon within twelve months. In the course of the evidence it was stated by a neighbour that she heard noises as of the boy being thumped and beaten, and when she remonstrated with the

the place of men who have gone to the front is naturally followed by other employers of labour, and the result is a scandalous encouragement given to boy labour. This was seen at Marylebone Police Court last week, when Mr. Garrett had before him several tradesmen summoned for employing boys of school age. An officer of the L.C.C. stated that there had been "an outbreak of illegal employment of schoolboys since the war began," and boys as young as nine years of age were working for wages and were sometimes so sleepy at school that they could not do their lessons properly.

In a country where women enjoyed their proper status it would not be possible for little boys to be overworked while capable young girls and women were unemployed.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" SPECIAL CHRISTMAS ISSUE

Next Week—December 18.

Poem by GERALD GOULD,
Stories by H. W. NEVINSON and G. COLMORE,
A GREETING from our HON. TREASURER at the Front,
Article on "The Cost of Living in War Time," by
FRANCES WOOD,

AND OTHER INTERESTING CONTRIBUTIONS.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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father he said he could do what he liked with his own children and in his own place. If, then, as it appears from this evidence, he took at least some part in the child's ill-treatment, why was it that his wife alone was punished?

The injustice is intensified, in our minds, when we realise that in the eyes of the law the mother is not the responsible parent at all. In the eyes of the law it is the father only who counts. But be the law what it may, when it comes to penalisation it is generally the "protected sex" that pays.

AN ALDERMAN OF THE RIGHT SORT

During the hearing of a charge against a woman box-maker at the Guildhall, last week, it came out that she earned on an average 11s. 3d. a week. Alderman Hanson commented thus:—

"I don't know if anyone expects a woman to keep honest on that. I don't."

We want a few more just judges of this kind on the Bench.

BOYS FOR MEN

The example set by the Government of declining to employ women to take

THE LIGHTER SIDE

He: "We don't need you women to help us run things. Didn't we men pass the compensation law, protecting everybody except farm hands and domestic servants?"

His Wife: "Yes, and I'm both."—Puck.

In the Tram Car

First Man: "Say, when women vote d'ye think they'll go to war?"

Second Man: "I don't know about that, but I think I can guess where war will go."—*Empire State Campaign Committee.*

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS

An early visit should be paid to the premises of Messrs. Gorrings, of Buckingham Palace Road, where an interesting and varied assortment of Christmas goods is being displayed. There are many articles of wonderful value which would be acceptable gifts, especially for the friends and relatives of those who are serving at the front. To take only one instance, the khaki wool rest cap, which can also be worn as a muff, would make a most appropriate gift.

COMING EVENTS

"Not one world at a time, but citizens of two worlds all the time" will be the subject of the sermon on Sunday, December 13, at the Eolian Hall, where the Rev. John Hunter, D.D., is delivering a series at 11 a.m.

The London Society for Women's Suffrage (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a public meeting at the Queen's Hall on Wednesday, December 16, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Fawcett, Professor Gilbert Murray, and others. Subject: "Winter and War." There will be songs by the choir of the North London Collegiate School for Girls.

The last of the present series of meetings held by the Women's Freedom League at the Suffrage Club will take place on Wednesday, December 16, at 3 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Montefiore on "Women in War Time." The meetings will be resumed in January.

The same Society will give a party to Belgian refugees at the Caxton Hall on Thursday, January 7, from 3.30 to 10 p.m. Admission 6d.

The New Constitutional Society will hold a meeting at the Knightsbridge Palace Hotel, on December 15, at 3 p.m. Speaker: Madame Grouitch.

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NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE. 40, Courthill Gardens, S.W., 11.30. Mrs. Flora Paris Howard, "The Hearer and the Doer"; 7. Mr. Paul Tyner, "Courage the Primal Virtue."

REV. JOHN HUNTER, D.D. (late Trinity Church, Glasgow). Eolian Hall, New Bond Street, Dec. 13, subject: "Not one world at a time, but citizens of two worlds all the time." Worship at 11 o'clock.

ST. MARY - AT - HILL. — Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 6, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

EAST LONDON FEDERATION of the SUFFRAGETTES. Meeting in Hyde Park, near Marble Arch, Sunday, Dec. 13, 3 p.m. Speakers: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and others. Chair, Mrs. Bouvier.

LADY FRANCES BALFOUR, Mrs. Fawcett (circumstances permitting). Professor Gilbert Murray, Sir George Pragnell, Lady Roxburgh, Miss Helen Ward, Dr. Florence Willey, on Winter and War, Queen's Hall, Dec. 16, 7.30 for 8 p.m. Songs by choir of the North London Collegiate School for Girls. Organ, Mrs. Layton. Tickets 5s., 1s. Admission Free. London Society (N.U.W.S.S.), 58, Victoria Street, S.W.

POSTPONED till December 18, 7.30 p.m. Concert by Hope Squire and Frank Merrick in the Memorial Hall, Manchester. Unfamiliar works for two pianofortes. Tickets available, or money returned by Messrs. Forsyth Bros., 126, Deansgate.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY for Women's Suffrage. Madame Grouitch, wife of the former minister in London, has just come from Nish, and will speak at the Knightsbridge Palace Hotel on Tuesday, December 15th, at 3 o'clock on Serbia and the War.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold a Public Meeting at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, Wednesday, December 16. Speaker, Mrs. Montefiore: "Women in War Time." The chair will be taken at 3.30. Admission free. This meeting will be the last of the present series.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will give a Party to Belgian Refugees at Caxton Hall, Westminster, Thursday, January 7, 3.30-10 p.m. Christmas tree, buffet, musical and dramatic entertainments, and many other attractions. Admission 6d.

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